

# Ireland Rejects Lloyd George "Settlement"

By HUGH CURRAN

Dublin, Ireland, March, 1920 (By Mail.)  
EVER since the Irish Parliament was dissolved by the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland has agitated continuously, sometimes violently, but always insistently, for the repeal of that act and the re-establishment of her own legislature. Today a powerful British Cabinet offers Ireland not one but two, and even three, parliaments, and the offer is spurned with unanimous scorn. People who are unfamiliar with the nuances of Irish politics will find it difficult to comprehend this apparent paradox, but there is really nothing surprising about it. We have now before us the scheme by which Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues hope to solve the century-old Irish problem. It is entitled "A Bill for the Better Government of Ireland." The unanimous voice of the Irish people, as echoed by the leaders of the Irish parties and by their newspapers, is that the bill, instead of bettering the government of the country would, if carried into law, mark the beginning of a period of internecine trouble such as no country has ever even contemplated.

With the exception of a small majority in Ulster, all Irishmen, regardless of the party to which they belong, consider their country a separate and complete entity, and demand that whatever form of government is given, it must be for the whole and not for any part or parts. Partition is universally regarded as the worst thing that could happen. Nationalists have always fought for unity, and the Southern Unionists fear division so much that they have started a strong organization called the Anti-Partition League to fight against it in every form.

Yet in face of this national and widely-expressed determination Mr. Lloyd George and his cabinet have determined to settle the Irish problem on a basis of which partition is the essential element. And what is more, he says that his government is strong enough to pass it in the Westminster Parliament and if the Irish people will not accept and work it amicably he will force it upon them. Thus Ireland, already in the throes of government by force instead of by consent, is threatened with a double dose of repression. It is hardly necessary to consider to what results this would lead, for the simple reason that Mr. George's scheme is impossible.

Apart from the sentimental reasons that are in themselves vital, it is the very essence of absurdity to attempt, as the new bill does, to set up three parliaments in a country of the size of Ireland. Ulster, which has never asked for a home parliament, and will in all probability refuse it—unless by acceptance it may score some sort of success against the Nationalist majority of the South—is to have a parliament in Belfast to legislate for the six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone with the boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry thrown in. The rest of Ireland, consisting of 26 counties, is to have a parliament in Dublin. These two parliaments are to be joined up by what is called a Council of Ireland, and the intention is that these should remain in existence until such time as the two parliamentary areas become so thoroughly dissatisfied with their government that they will agree to join up in one parliament!

Suppose for a moment that all these things came to pass—which in the present state of feeling is to presume the impossible—what would be the state of chaos which would be brought about? Each area would have to be equipped with full governmental paraphernalia. For the various local services special separate

departments would be set up, separate law courts and judges would be established, public health and education would have their own departments in each—all of which would mean the creation of a large number of highly-paid posts from which the occupants would presumably have to be deposed and compensated when the time arrived for the so-called "union." This would mean intolerable and unbearable expense in their initiation and an equally intolerable expense if it should happen that they should be ultimately "demobilized."

Another of the many absurdities would be that the County Donegal, which is on the extreme northwest of Ulster, and Monaghan, which is in the center of Ulster, would be governed by the southern parliament.

Further, there is the question of trade, an important one for Belfast. If Belfast wished to trade, as it does extensively today with the South and West of Ireland, there is hardly any question that difficulties and barriers would be set up which would cause ruinous loss to the northern capital. The scheme actually bristles with possibilities of this kind that would lead instantly to embittered feelings ultimately developing into what one authority describes as an "inevitable war between the northern and southern states."

The reception of the bill in Ireland was the most remarkable that any important measure has ever received. No newspaper printed more than a summary of its proposals. All wrote leading articles in which they denounced the scheme. The Freeman's Journal, the leading Nationalist newspaper, in its editorial of just fourteen lines, wound up with the slogan, "Away with it." The Irish Times, leading Unionist paper, ominously remarks, "Not one, but two, kingdoms may be the price of the government's disillusionment." The Belfast newspapers are all denunciatory but from a necessarily different angle.

Lawyers in Dublin look ominously at the prospect of the setting up of a legal center in Belfast, whence a great deal of the business of high courts comes; and should the measure pass they would have to make up their minds whether they should go to Belfast to meet the business half way or remain in Dublin and try to survive on the leaner business which will come there.

Commercial men in every trade stand aghast at the possibilities of the scheme; but there is no real apprehension anywhere since no one believes it will ever become law.

The anomalous nature of Mr. Lloyd George's bill is perhaps only paralleled by the amazing state of the country at the moment when he proposes to impose upon it his astounding settlement.

In the British House of Commons, with the exception of the seven Redmondite Nationalist members and a dozen or so Unionists, there is no Irish representation. The 73 Sinn Fein members, only elected in December, 1918, have all the time refused to attend its deliberations. They ignore the existence of England. They have set up their own Republican Parliament in Dublin which the government has suppressed. They absolutely refuse even to discuss the new Home Rule bill. It does not affect their purpose in the slightest. Then, as regards the present state of Ireland, nothing could be more removed from what would be considered an ideal state of public opinion for the launching of a great reform. The country is kept under the con-

trol of some 60,000 troops whose occupation it resents. Outrages and murders are of almost daily and nightly occurrence.

Police barracks are attacked and private houses are raided for arms. So many weapons must have been collected in recent months that Sinn Fein's armory must be well stocked. Ammunition has also been captured and explosives in considerable quantities. Where these stores are kept is one of the most extraordinary mysteries, for police and soldiers who make constant searches have failed utterly to discover them. Sinn Fein leaders are constantly being arrested and deported to England without any trial and without any charge being made against them. Frequently warships are dispatched from Irish ports with numbers of these deportees. Whole areas of the country are declared in a state of siege and all assemblies of people for such purposes as fairs and markets are prohibited with heavy consequent losses to traders and farmers. A week ago a military order was imposed on the city of Dublin by which all persons unless supplied with a military permit are required to be in their homes between the hours of midnight and 5 o'clock in the morning. During these hours the streets are in complete possession of the police and military. The Dublin corporation, by way of showing its indignation at this order, shut off all the public lighting at 11:30 p. m., and as a consequence the city is in complete darkness. Comparatively few people, except those concerned in the production of morning newspapers, have any grievance in respect of the order, but those who have to be abroad have frequently exciting and nerve-racking experiences.

This is the state of partial rebellion upon which Mr. Lloyd George proposes to impose a "settlement" which a hundred per cent of the population absolutely reject, and which they will actively oppose. It is another illustration of the amazing stupidity which has invariably characterized the dealings of the British Government with Ireland. It is no exaggeration to say that it is the attitude of the British Government during the past half dozen years which resulted in three-fourths of the people turning Sinn Fein; and as one close observer remarks, the present "settlement," if persisted in, will inevitably turn the remaining one-fourth, Unionists and all, into Sinn Feiners. No doubt Mr. Lloyd George does not do this for his own amusement. He has so bungled and entangled the Irish problem that there appears to be no escape from crisis and disaster. He has made promises to certain sections which he must keep or his coalition cabinet will be broken up. This scheme, if persisted in, may have results of the most disastrous and violent kind. No one can foresee what will happen.

The strength of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland is undeniable; and it has now developed strength in America and in the British colonies that will be felt in many different ways. If the Home Rule Act of 1914 had been put in operation the majority of the people, who at that time favored a settlement "within the Empire," would have secured Ireland to Great Britain, and prevented the growth of Sinn Fein. Now Sinn Fein has its opportunity and England's difficulties in every part of the world are utilized to enhance that strength still further. The constitutional party practically no longer exists. The new bill proposes to repeal the Act of 1914, and with that repeal the Constitutionalists will have lost their strongest *raison d'être*. The issue will then be knit between the British Government and the Irish Republican party.



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SENATOR JOHN H. WISE

## An Hawaiian Princess

THE lady in the picture is Princess J. Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, of Hawaii. Her husband is the Hawaiian delegate to Congress. The Princess will come into special prominence during April through having to serve as the principal hostess for the Island when the missionary centennial is celebrated in Honolulu. It is just 100 years ago that the first missionaries left the United States and began work in Hawaii. She is very popular at home and at Washington.

## He Represents Hawaii

SENATOR JOHN H. WISE, of Hawaii, has originated a plan to put his native island on a prosperous basis. It calls for the government leasing land to settlers for 999 years, at \$1 a year, and lending them money for a house, a cow and pigs. Money to do this has already been provided by sugar leases. Mr. Wise is a good friend to Hawaii at Washington and usually succeeds in getting what he goes after.



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PRINCESS J. KUHIO KALANIANA'OLE